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or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 61.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogiwa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "volun- [765] tary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating sago gruel for the period between the first and second funer- [331] als of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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821 776 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

• 753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 776 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 776 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

• 753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[20]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[20] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

796 346 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing will go on to its conclusion."

755 754 [796] The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of the Bongus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within [123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The [753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognise this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we [123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old man into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 [372] November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 136 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at
this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwem
where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma
settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by
events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the
day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon.
For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came
running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwem youths who fetches water and
firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush
house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in
good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish".
The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half
dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us
several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because
of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk
straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we
could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but
no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to
get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he
was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 755 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder

123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependance on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gambe.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbiman. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [129] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Namb, went up and greeted Namb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Owiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Enos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Enos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Owiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Owiyap. Enya, Awa, Afi, and Yewaf were there. I told Owiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Owiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Owiyap was afraid they could not carry the

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mes has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mes (Mar has been joking with Mes alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinawa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Hay and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Cwanta
584 and Fambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual, [753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned;" and he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next day, he was all right.

578 *115 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap. Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 [736] Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to a man from Dawus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.

[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others. Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.

[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka, it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance). Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking out for Uka.

192 [826] [262] [614] **marinokw** the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.

nambeyé ears

nboroweng neck

nesuk heart

wofu lungs

kumbu stomach

sungu intestines

wangorusuku kidneys

nogu bladder

eré penis

wandé testicles

sumé suf anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siefkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.